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AUTHOR Metzger, Loya
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ABSTRACT

Academic freedom for the professoriate in America is discussed, based on quantitative analysis of almost a thousand cases from the files of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). The cases represent a large sample of the academic freedom and tenure conflicts that developed during a period of more than four decades (1913-1957). The case files examined contain biographic details, definition of the situation, the professor's view, the administration's view, and AAUP perception of the situation. Problems frequently identified as core reasons for the disputes are faculty behavior, political opinions or activities of faculty, educational policy disputes, personality clashes, and faculty morals. A correlation between the size of the institution and the amount of reported complaints about academic freedom are reported; 61 percent of the complaints came from larger universities. Personal characteristics of the complaints rather than characteristics of the institutions and disciplinary fields are also correlated with dispute incidence: i.e., social scientists are more prone to see academic freedom overtones. Appendices and tables contain statistics of academic freedom cases over time periods, issues and behavior in the cases, institution size compared to number of cases, and academic freedom violations. (IC)

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PROFESSORS IN TROUBLE:
THE STRUGGLE FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN 20TH CENTURY AMERICA

LOYA METZGER

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During the first half of the Twentieth Century, the principle of academic freedom gained broad acceptance among American professors and administrators. Today it is a principle almost universally accorded rhetorical allegiance, even when the actual adherence to its tenets is questioned. But this was not always so. Academic freedom was the norm in the major research universities long before the sectarian walls surrounding smaller colleges, especially church-related ones, were broken down or the partisan appointment practices of public institutions were challenged. Moreover, the unevenness of the spread of this norm was attended by numerous campus conflicts, some of which erupted into cause celebres, many of which took place behind the scenes. A central participant in many of these conflicts was the organzation of professors founded in this country in 1915, the American Association of University Professors. It took the lead in clarifying and codifying the principle of academic freedom and in persuading administrators to endorse it. Although investigating the dismissals of individual professors was not envisioned as the mission of the new association at the time of its founding, the large number of complaints received from faculty members forced it to take on this kind of academic police work as a central activity. This paper is based on the quantitative analysis of almost a thousand cases from the confidential files of the AAUP, a large sample of the academic

freedom and tenure conflicts that developed during a period of more than four decades (1913-1957).

These files, not heretofore open to researchers, represent a rich archive of data about academic conflicts. In them we find the initial definition of the situation by the aggrieved professor and the administrative view of the same event, versions likely to be at Rashomon odds with each other. A case file generally contains biographic details that reveal the complainant's academic standing, as well as much information about the institutional setting in which the controversy occurred. Further, the presence of the AAUP as a third party in the dispute means we are not limited to simple partisan recountings of a complex event. Aside from providing us with a more objective judgment of the merits of the complaint, a judgment sometimes arrived at solely through correspondence but sometimes based on a visit to the campus for a first-hand look, this presence and the probing of the AAUP staff also brought an enlargement in the participants in the controversy and often changes in the perspectives of the immediate parties. Finally, almost all published information on academic freedom and tenure conflicts has treated them as case studies, generally narrative in form and necessarily idiosyncratic. The opening of these files provided data for generalizations about the usual developments when a faculty member loses his job and protests and for a systematic analysis on the basis of objective evidence about what has happened in such conflicts throughout all institutions of higher education.

The initial investigations of the AAUP into the dismissals of professors and its arguments in defense of academic freedom in the reports of those investigations were given wide publicity. As its reputation spread, larger numbers of professors appealed to the Association when they lost their jobs and academic freedom issues were involved in a smaller proportion of the complaints received by the organization. More than half the cases referred to the new organization during it earliest years had academic freedom overtones. This proportion was down to about one-fourth in the period from the mid-1930s to 1950, although it rose again to 36 percent during the 1950s. Overall, academic freedom issues were involved in 31 percent of the cases in our sample.[1]

Some description of the substantive issues and the kind of behavior by faculty members most frequently involved in academic freedom cases may be of interest, since heretofore there has been no quantitative evidence about such disputes. Political opinions or activities of faculty members were most likely to cause offense. Even so, political issues were involved in only 11 percent of the complaints in our sample investigated by the AAUP--that amounts to only one-third of the cases that involved any academic freedom issues. Perhaps more surprisingly, questions about educational policy were the next most troublesome subject--one-fourth of the academic freedom cases concerned these. Actually, this underestimates the cases that turned on questions of institutional policies and governance, or purely campus concerns. During the time

period of our study, cases in which the primary issues concerned authority and discipline at the institution were almost as frequent as academic freedom cases. These situations could often be described as personality clashes, with the administrator charging that the offending professor was insubordinate and the cause of faculty disharmony and the faculty members viewing every administrative act as a personal threat and possibly engaging in obstructionist tactics. Such cases have a different dynamic than academic freedom cases, and those conflicts that did not involve disagreement on specific substantive topics but concerned only loyalty to the administration and personal disputes will not be discussed today. Religious opinions or behavior, most usually charges of disbelief or irreligiosity, were involved in about a fifth of these cases, and economic issues--opinions that concerned local business or financial interests or community controversies--in 13 percent of them. Unlike today, gender and race were raised in very few of the complaints to the AAUP during the time period of our study. Further, questions about personal morals of faculty members were involved in only a small percentage of the cases, probably more because most professors conformed to prevailing community standards in those times than because institutions showed tolerance for diverging life styles. Opinions about racial issues or sexual behavior and the topic of evolution were involved in small percentages of the academic freedom cases from these years.[2]

My data do not support one generalization that has

been made about academic freedom cases--that extramural, or off-campus, utterances of professors have been central in most cases, and that administrators acted more out of a concern for public relations--a fear that the institution would suffer from the identification of a faculty member with unpopular causes or controversial views by the general public--than by a desire to maintain an internal intellectual conformity. For the cases in our sample, opinions voiced on campus, generally in the classroom, caused trouble for more than half the faculty members involved in academic freedom conflicts. Actions on campus other than speech alone, such as organizing campus chapters of political groups or supporting appearances by controversial speakers, caused offense in 15 percent of these cases. Off-campus speechmaking was an issue in one-fourth of the cases and other off-campus activities, such as memberships in organizations or participation in demonstrations or boycotts, were also of concern in a quarter of these controversies. This concentration on campus behavior in the majority of these conflicts may reflect the earlier time period of our study, years in which colleges still saw themselves as acting in loco parentis to their students, a responsibility they sometimes extended to protecting students from the expression of outrageous views that might contaminate their thinking or mislead the impressionable young.

Moving from the description of what these academic freedom conflicts were about, we come to the questions: who and

where. The kind of professor likely to be involved in these academic freedom cases and his institutional setting are the issues we shall consider in the remainder of this paper.

Associations between personal characteristics of professors and academic freedom complaints have ambiguous meaning: they can indicate simply that certain professors are more likely to use the battle cry of "academic freedom" in their own defense, or that academic freedom violations are, in fact, more likely to involve professors with certain personal characteristics. One test of whether the complainants reflected reality or their own propensity to suspicion is how the AAUP judged the validity of their complaint. Over the years of our study, the AAUP was notably cautious about declaring that the principles of academic freedom had been violated. The organization came to the judgment that a violation of academic freedom had occurred in only five percent of the cases in our total sample, or in only 18 percent of the cases in which complaining professors alleged such violations. Further, only most rarely did the AAUP find an academic freedom violation unless the complainant asserted that the real motivation for the action against him was improper objections to his opinions or behavior. In part, this may reflect a disinclination of the Association to take on the added burden of looking into the "why" of dismissals (the true motivation of administrators - always the most difficult, if not impossible, part of the investigating task) when the professor complained only about <u>how</u> the action had

been taken against him (that a fair procedure had not been followed). But academic freedom issues were sometimes raised by participants in the controversy other than the complaining professor, and these almost never were substantiated by the AAUP investigation. Apparently if such issues are truly involved in a case, the complainant himself is aware of it. The AAUP's meticulousness about thoroughly investigating charges of academic freedom violations caused its judgments to be generally accepted as objective and, in that sense--though perhaps the organization was overly conservative--they serve us well as judgments of the validity of complaints.

It is generally assumed that academic freedom cases are more likely to arise in certain kinds of institutions than in others. But, in terms of simple two-variable associations, when all the complaints received by the AAUP over this span of years are considered, only one institutional characteristic is clearly related to complaints about academic freedom. This is institutional size. Professors at Catholic institutions and those from all-Negro colleges seldom mentioned academic freedom, but there were very few complaints to the AAUP during the years covered by our study from these kinds of institutions. Differences in the occurrence of academic freedom complaints according to other institutional characteristics--institutional type, the kind of control, region--are all slight, but the positive relationship between institutional size and academic freedom complaints is strong and consistent--61 percent of the complainants to the AAUP from the very largest colleges

and universities claimed that their academic freedom had been threatened. Further analysis showed that this institutional difference in the complaint rate about academic freedom was not true in the early years of the AAUP's history; it occurred only after 1940, a matter we will discuss later.

Academic freedom complaints were more strongly related to personal characteristics of the complainants than to characteristics of the institutions where they taught. The complaint rate was higher for faculty members with high achievement than for those with poorer performance records. In general, those complainants with reputations as able teachers and those more active as researchers and scholars, as well as those with doctorates, were more apt to mention academic freedom issues than others. In relation to seniority, the pattern of the complaint rate is curvilinear: those new in the profession and newcomers at an institution, along with those complainants who had served at their current institution more than two decades, were more likely to charge that the action against them threatened academic freedom than were complainants in the middle ranks on seniority--those with six to 20 years service at their insitution. When rank and tenure status, the institutional rewards for both achievement and seniority, are considered, differences in the complaint rate are less pronounced. Regression analysis was used to sort out the interrelationships between those characteristics. This revealed that the primary connection between these variables and the likelihood of an academic freedom complaint is through those variables most clearly representing academic

achievement--a reputation as an able teacher and research activities resulting in publication. For example, complainants with the doctorate were less likely than others to cite an academic freedom violation except for the high association of research and publication activity with possession of the Ph.D. degree and, to a lesser extent, the connection between higher degrees and a high teaching reputation.

Disciplinary field was also strongly related to academic freedom complaints, in addition to the characteristics reflecting academic status and seniority. Social scientists were more prone to see academic freedom overtones in the actions against them than were faculty members in history or humanities departments or those in the natural sciences, while professors in education and other vocational fields--journalism, home economics, business, engineering or architecture--seldom claimed an academic freedom violation.[3] AAUP judgments of violations, however, do not vindicate these complaints of social scientists. The AAUP found violations of academic freedom as often for biological scientists, whose complaint rate about academic freedom was less than half that of social scientists. Just over half the social science complainants raised academic freedom issues, while only 23 percent of the biologists did. For each discipline, the AAUP found that violations had occurred in only 7 percent of the cases. This suggests that something about their disciplinary field--perhaps a sense that they deal with potentially controversial issues, a sense of being under attack, a fear of

being reduced to a branch of lay morality; perhaps, even, a training to look for the unmentioned "real" causes of social facts--made social scientists more suspicious of the motivations for actions against them.

One other personal characteristic--the sex of complainants--was strongly associated with the academic freedom complaint rate. Women were not as likely to complain to the AAUP as their numbers in the profession would justify until the late 1940s. Women made up 18 percent of the sample of complainants over all decades of the study, but complainants were almost invariably male in the early years. The increase in women complainants started during the Depression years and continued until the 1950s, with the highest rate of complaint from women occurring in the years immediately after World War II. When they did complain to the AAUP, women were extremely unlikely to mention academic freedom--only nine percent did so. However, the effect of gender on academic freedom complaints disappears when considered in combination with other personal characteristics. The disinclination of women to claim academic freedom violations during the time period of our study was due to their lower research activity and lower teaching reputations and to the fact that few women complainants were in the fields, primarily the social sciences, with a high propensity for academic freedom complaints.

Except for contradicting the claims of social scientists, AAUP judgments in general bear out the associations between personal characteristics and academic freedom complaints,

although always at much reduced levels. This suggests that the differences in the complaint rate about academic freedom according to personal characteristics of complainants for the most part reflected actual occurrences rather than professorial fantasies.

This conclusion is buttressed by the fact that complainants, as well as AAUP judgments, were more strongly influenced by events--such as the reason given by the administration for its action or how the action was initiated--than by any factors related to the insitutional context or personal qualities of complainants. Today administrators seldom admit that a faculty member's beliefs, spoken opinions, associations or his activity on public issues is the reason for action against him. Our study is historical and includes cases from earlier times, when an understanding of the requirements of academic freedom was not so widespread, as well as the political attacks on professors during the 1950s. Thus, such presumably impermissible reasons were sometimes openly admitted and, when this happened, the faculty member understandably almost always mentioned academic freedom. On the other hand, complainants seldom raised the academic freedom issue if financial exigency or incompetence was the stated reason for the action. Similarly, suspicions are raised if the initial pressure against a professor originates with external, or off-campus, forces. Eighty percent of the complainants against whom action was instigated by off-campus forces claimed an academic freedom violation in their appeal to the AAUP, as did almost one-half

of those against whom trustees initiated the action. Few complainants mentioned academic freedom, on the other hand, if the action against them had occurred through more regular academic channels, with a dean or department head making the first move.

These key case events and the personal characteristics of complainants were related. Reasons with academic freedom connotations were more frequently admitted by administrations in cases involving faculty members with reputations as excellent teachers especially, but also when the faculty member was actively engaged in research and was in the social sciences. Pressure from outsiders was more likely against professors known as excellent teachers and those in the social sciences, although active researchers were not significantly more vulnerable to this threat. Even so, personal characteristics of complaints had an independent effect on the complaint rate in addition to these key case events. Those in the social sciences, much praised teachers and active researchers were prone to claim an academic freedom violation when faced with loss of their jobs regardless of suspicion-creating events.

Further analysis revealed important differences in academic freedom complainants at different time periods in our study. Only prior to 1940 did high teaching reputation have a positive connection with academic freedom complaints, and the complainants who mentioned academic freedom in that period tended to have published little. In contrast, those who mentioned academic freedom after 1940 were apt to have higher

standing as researchers and scholars than other complainants but not to be known as particularly good teachers. Also, the positive relationship between institutional size and the academic freedom complaint rate is true only in the later decades. In good part, this is due to a strong association between larger institutions and pressures from outsiders as the initial force against complainants, as well as the admission of reasons with academic freedom implications for the action, associations that did not exist in the earlier period. In addition, trustees more frequently initiated the action against academic freedom complainants at larger institutions after 1940, whereas in earlier years trustees tended to be the instigators of actions against professors only at the smaller colleges.[4]

These changes in the academic freedom complaints reveal the impact of McCarthyism and the widespread attacks on allegedly subversive professors that began shortly after World War II. The AAUP cases indicate that academic freedom cases after 1940 were more likely to occur in larger institutions because of the intervention of outsiders attacking the beliefs and associations of faculty members and an increasing tendency of trustees to act on personnel matters. Further, these attacks were likely to be directed at more scholarly and research-minded faculty members.[5]

Although relatively more of the AAUP academic freedom cases that took place in the 1950s originated in larger colleges and universities, this was only because the proportion

of the complaints received by the AAUP in later years from smaller colleges that involved academic freedom was markedly lower than it had been in former decades. Further, the change occurred only in certain types of institutions--those under private or church control.[6] At public institutions, academic freedom was more frequently raised as an issue in complaints from the larger ones in all decades. But the change in the pattern of occurrence of academic freedom complaints at non-public institutions was sharp. Only one complaint out of the 16 from large church-related colleges prior to 1940 that were included in our sample concerned academic freedom, while a third of the much more numerous complaints from the smallest religious colleges cited violations of academic freedom. After 1940, two-fifths of the complaints originating from larger religious colleges touched on academic freedom issues, while only 13 percent of the cases arising at small church colleges involved such questions. A similar change occurred among complaints from privately controlled secular colleges.

Throughout the period covered by our cases a disproportionate share of the complaints received by the AAUP were from professors at smaller colleges. There was a change, however, in the nature of these complaints from smaller colleges. Jencks and Riesman, in The Academic Revolution, described in detail the hundreds of "special-interest" colleges that came to dominate higher education in this country in the Nineteenth Century--"colleges for Baptists and Catholics, for men and women, for whites and blacks, for rich and not-so-rich, for North and South, for small town and big city, for adolescents and adults, for engineers and teachers."[7] The

financial solvency of these institutions was precarious, and overcoming this problem finally pushed many of these institutions to become less particularistic in order to survive. As Jencks and Riesman wrote:

> Upper-class colleges took on literary critics with working-class ancestors, Southern colleges hired more historians who had grown up in the North or even in Europe, women's colleges hired male psychologists, and Methodist colleges took on Unitarian philosophers. Such "mismatching" had, of course, sometimes taken place accidentally in presumptively homogeneous special-interest colleges, but professionalization made it far more common. It also put trustees and parents who opposed heterogeneity very much on the defensive.[8]

This mismatching that accompanied the transformation of the special-interest college might be considered one kind of classic academic freedom case. The high rate of academic freedom complaints from the smallest colleges in the earliest years of our study reflects such conflicts. They arose in marginal colleges, insitutions in transition, and the tensions were generated internally, on the campus--they did not have to be sparked by pressure from outside although ever-watchful and parochial boards of trustees might be quick to take part in the drama. At such small places, the offending professor, even though acclaimed as successful and stimulating in the classroom, was not likely to possess scholarly credits.

At a later stage in the transformation of a special-interest college, the clash of expectations might just as well go the other way: faculty members who had stayed and had come to seem inadequate and out-of-place might be under attack rather than the "mismatched" outsider who had recently arrived. This too is mirrored in the complaints from small

colleges. The high rate of academic freedom complaint from professors at small colleges declined sharply as early as the 1930s. In the Depression decade, charges about academic freedom were cut in half among the complaints from small colleges. The charges brought by administrators concerned much more the financial exigencies of the institution and the competence, rather than the controversiality, of complaining professors. Further, as faculty became professionalized, so did administrators, even at smaller colleges. They learned, in part because of the investigative activities of the association, that they must produce a set of permissible reasons for dismissals and became less inclined to act against faculty members on suspect grounds, more cautious about reappointing potentially controversial academics, and less candid about admitting professionally unacceptable motivations. Thus, by the 1940s, only six percent of the complaints from faculty members at the smallest colleges mentioned academic freedom issues.

A second proto-typical kind of academic freedom case can also be delineated from the AAUP data, one arising not because of internal tensions but originating with pressures outside the institution. While this style of academic freedom case became more widespread with the post-war attacks on professors, it was not newly developed in those difficult times. This was the likely pattern for academic freedom conflicts at larger colleges and universities throughout the period of our study. Most of the larger institutions from

which complaints to the AAUP originated were publicly controlled, and attacks on academic freedom had not been uncommon at large state universities even before the McCarthy era. Many of these were attempts by state officials to establish political control over the state university. Such attacks on professors at public institutions are mirrored in the high rate of complaints about academic freedom violations in cases arising at large public institutions throughout the decades covered by our data. Professors at larger institutions that were church-related or under private secular control, often colleges of high prestige and high concern about academic standards and principles, had not been vulnerable to political incursions on campus by state officials. Thus, not until the later years of our study, when the witch hunt for subversive professors became national in scope and hysterical in tone, did the complaints from these institutions raise the cry of academic freedom.

In sum, while the provocative professor at a smaller college was especially likely to be threatened in the early years of our study, that was no longer true in later years. Then the able teacher and scholar at larger institutions, always a target at public universities, had become the typical academic freedom complainant.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Table 1 in Appendix.

2. See Table 2 in Appendix.

3. Professors of religion and law were also highly likely to claim an academic freedom violation, but there were few academics in those fields among the complainants in the sample.

4. In addition, complainants facing non-reappointment, rather than dismissal, were likely to charge that academic freedom issues were involved in the action against them after 1940, while this had not been true in the earlier years. This was due to the joint adoption of the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure by the AAUP and the Association of American Colleges, a document that set forth a clear codification of tenure rights. In general, after its adoption, explicitly non-tenured professors -- those facing non-reappointment rather than dismissal -- did not have grounds for requesting the association's help unless impermissible motives prompted the decision for their non-retention. AAUP judgments that academic freedom violations had occurred substantiate the changes in cases revealed by complaints after 1940. Further, the analysis also revealed the increasing regularization of the association's investigative activities in the later decades, brought on in good part by the introduction of the standard for de facto tenure in the 1940 Statement. After 1940, in the absence of obviously incriminating acts by the administration (the admission of reasons with academic freedom implications, giving way to attacks on professors by outsiders or the initiation of action against faculty members by trustees), the AAUP came to rely in its investigations on an insistence on tenure rights rather than accusations of improper motivations. The fact that a complainant mentioned academic freedom did not influence association judgments after 1940 except through its relationship to these key case events and personal characteristics of complainants.

5. Our findings about complaints to the AAUP call to mind the study done twenty years ago by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., The Academic Mind (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), one of the most useful works concerning the freedom of American professors. For their investigation of the level of apprehension of social science professors during the McCarthy era, these researchers collected information about specific "incidents" that had occurred at the campuses included in their sample. These "incidents" were not limited to actions by the administration of an institution threatening a professor's job, as are the great preponderance of our cases, but encompassed diverse matters. These ranged from the dumping of garbage on the lawn of a politically active professor or general community discord as the result of invitations to controversial speakers by campus organizations to Congressional investigations of faculty members and reports of faculty members who had been dismissed, not reappointed or not promoted as a result of their political activities. Incidents were not analyzed as individual cases -- the prior occurrence of incidents was used primarily to explain the apprehension reported by the social science professors in their survey. Incidents were reported more frequently by The Academic Mind respondents at larger institutions, at secular rather than traditional colleges (liberal

arts colleges under private or public control rather than church-related institutions or teachers colleges), and -- generally, as well as in each particular category -- at the colleges of higher quality. The productivity of their respondents paralleled this pattern: in every instance, the social science faculties in the kinds of institutions where a higher number of incidents had been reported included a higher proportion of productive academics.

In general, our data substantiate The Academic Mind findings. Certainly the likely targets in the post-war political attacks on professors seem to have been more research-minded academics. Because of the nature of their sample, Lazarsfeld and Thielens could not finally document their suspicion that in those years professors at larger institutions were more likely to come under attack. (They could only show that respondents from the larger places talked of more incidents.) The AAUP data show that after 1940 complainants from larger institutions were more likely to be involved in academic freedom cases than complainants at small colleges, although this had not been true earlier. Although respondents from teachers colleges reported few incidents in The Academic Mind survey, faculty members from this type of institution had a higher rate of complaint to the AAUP about academic freedom than those from other types of institutions in the 1950's. But many of these complaints concerned more parochial matters and had little to do with the prevailing national concerns on campuses.

6. See Table 3 in Appendix.

7. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1968), p. 2.

8. Ibid., p. 21. Jencks and Riesman assert that, more than the financial problems of these small institutions, the primary reason for the demise and transformation of the special-interest college was the establishment of larger, national institutions in all spheres of society that fostered meritocratic, and therefore universalistic, standards. In higher education this national trend was exemplified by the rise of the university and the professionalization of academics, or the development of a nationalized profession with meritocratic standards and increasing autonomy out of the variegated faculties that had formerly staffed colleges.

APPENDIX

Table 1

ACADEMIC FREEDOM CASES — COMPLAINTS AND AAUP JUDGMENTS — OVER TIME PERIODS

The percent of cases in which:	1915-20	1921-26	1927-32	1933-38	1939-44	1945-50	1951-57	All Complaints
Academic freedom issues were involved[a]	56.8	35.9	32.8	26.2	26.3	27.8	36.2	31.2
Complainant alleges academic freedom violation	51.4	28.2	30.3	24.4	20.0	26.5	29.3	26.9
AAUP judges violation occurred	10.8	5.1	7.6	4.3	5.3	1.3	5.9	5.1
Percentage Base	(37)	(39)	(119)	(164)	(190)	(151)	(188)	(888)

[a]This includes cases in which the complainant charged that the action against him was an academic freedom violation and those in which academic freedom issues were uncovered during the investigation although the complainant had not mentioned them.

Table 2

DESCRIPTION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND TYPE OF BEHAVIOR IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM CASES

Topic of Opinions, Beliefs, Behavior found Offensive	
Political Issues	33.3%
Educational Policy issues	25.6
Religion (atheism)	19.2
Economic Issues	13.5
Personal Behavior	8.3
Racial issues	7.7
Opinions about sexual issues	5.1
Evolution	3.8
Philosophical issues	.6
Type of Activity which caused offense	
On-campus speech	51.9%
Off-campus speech	27.6
Off-campus activities (membership, demonstrations, etc.)	26.9
On-campus activities	15.4
Cases which involved a refusal to act, rather than an action or speech (Lack of candor with collengues about political associations, use of the Fifth Amendment, refusal "to do patriotic duty," refusal to sign loyalty oath)	9.0
Percentage Base	(156)[a]

[a]This represents all cases investigated by the AAUP included in our sample of 888 that involved any question of academic freedom issues. Information on these points was not available for cases in which the complainant mentioned academic freedom but the AAUP refused to investigate, generally because there was no prima facie evidence to support the complainant's contentions and there was no apparent violation of academic tenure.

The percentages in the different groups in the table do not total 100 percent because more than one issue and more than one kind of behavior may have caused offense.

Table 3

ACADEMIC FREEDOM CASES BY INSTITUTIONAL SIZE AND TYPE BEFORE 1940 AND AFTER 1940

The Percentage of Cases in which Academic Freedom Issues were Involved

Type of Institution	Before 1940	After 1940
Teachers Colleges	33.3% (39)	41.1% (56)
Church-related colleges	32.3% (127)	25.8% (128)
Small	33.3 (81)	13.4 (67)
Medium	43.3 (30)	38.5 (39)
Large	6.3 (16)	40.9 (22)
Private secular colleges	27.7 (90)	30.4 (112)
Small	27.9 (43)	18.2 (44)
Medium	31.8 (22)	34.1 (44)
Large	24.0 (25)	45.8 (24)
Publicly controlled colleges	34.0 (141)	30.9 (194)
Small	(1/9)	20.0 (15)
Medium	29.9 (67)	18.4 (38)
Large	41.5 (65)	35.5 (141)
All institutions	-32.0 (397)	30.6 (490)

Figure 3. ACADEMIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS: INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

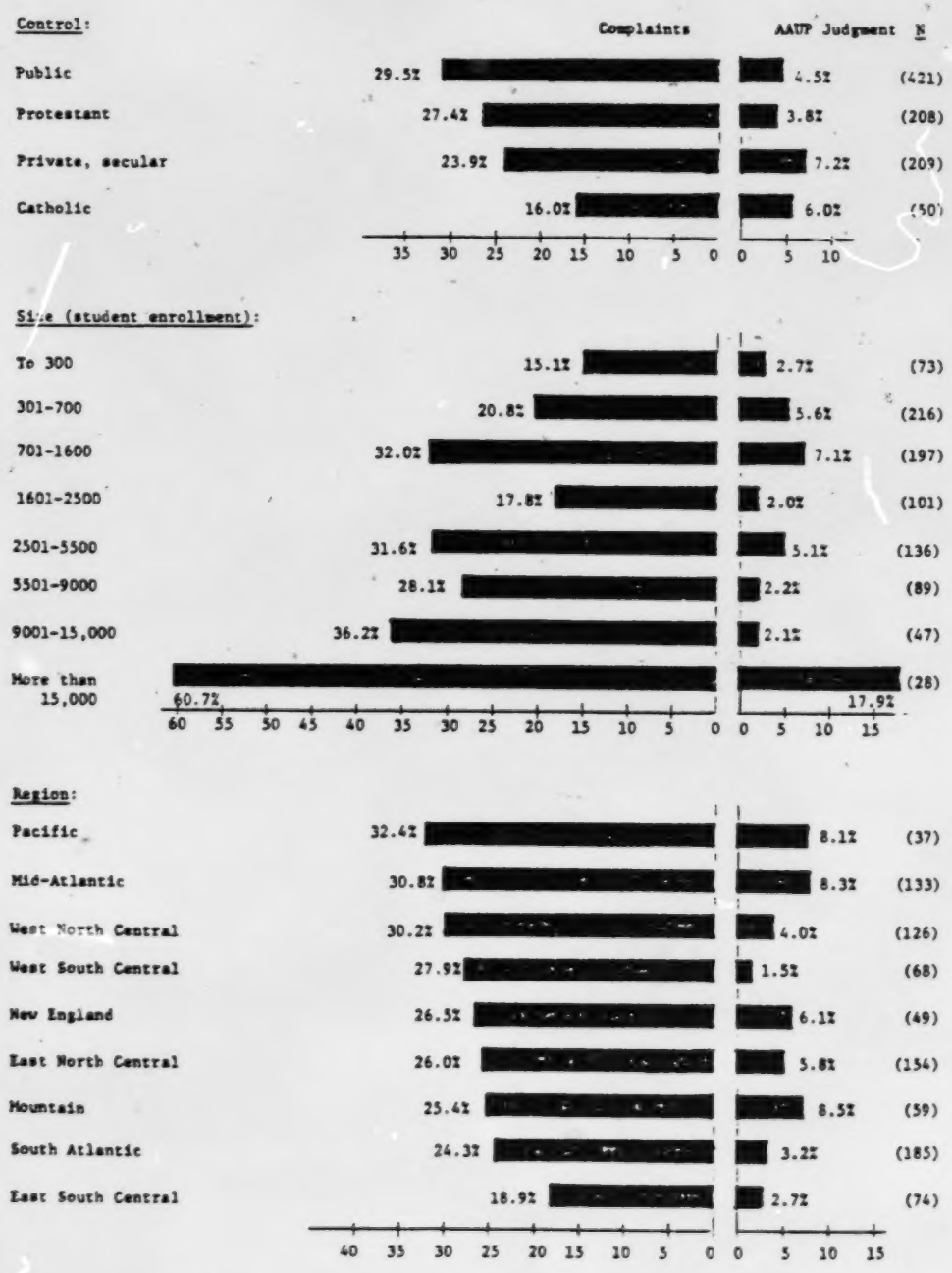

Figure 4. ACADEMIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS:
ACADEMIC STATUS OF COMPLAINANTS

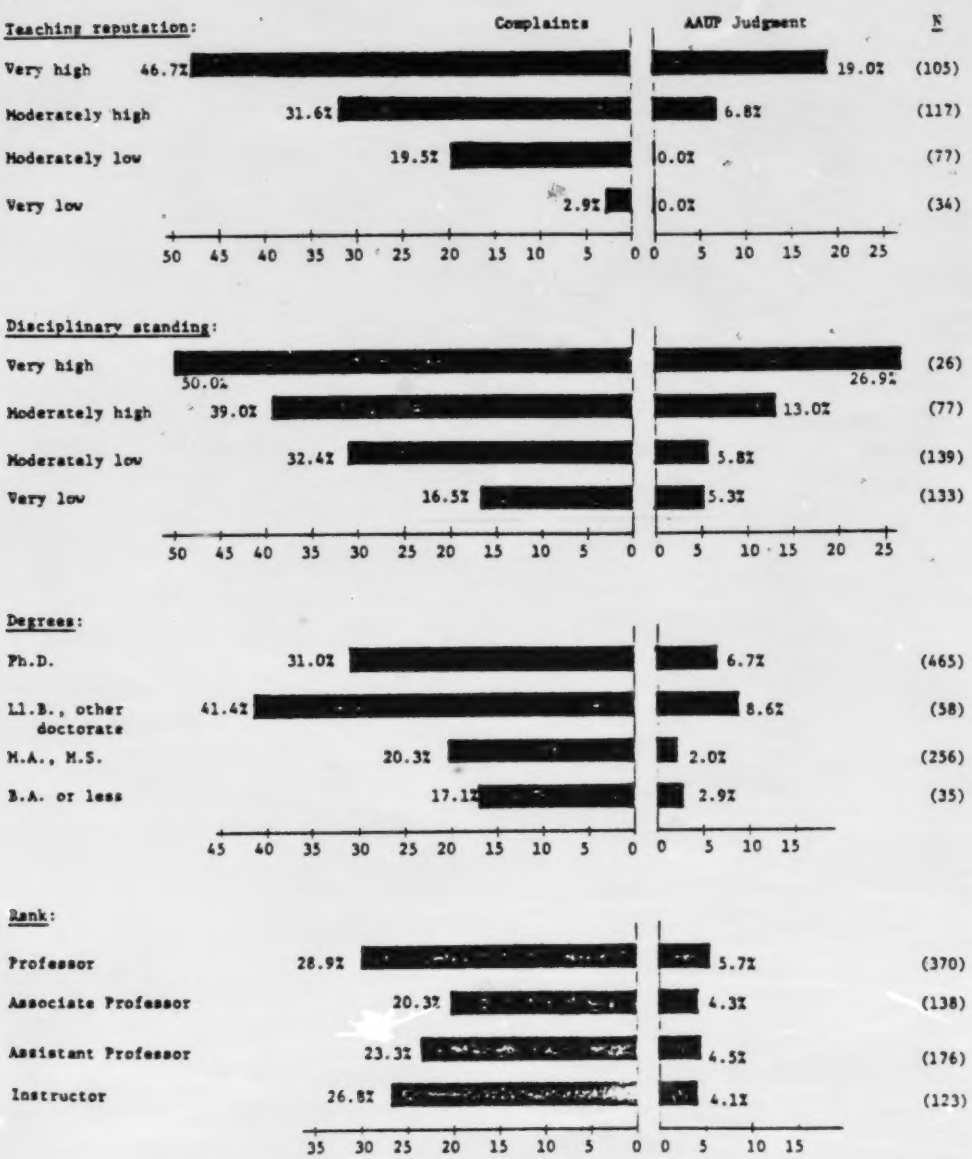
Teaching reputation:
Complaints
AAUP Judgment
N
Very high 46.7% 19.0% (105)
Moderately high 31.6% 6.8% (117)
Moderately low 19.5% 0.0% (77)
Very low 2.9% 0.0% (34)
50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0
0 5 10 15 20 25
Disciplinary standing:
Very high 50.0% 26.9% (26)
Moderately high 39.0% 13.0% (77)
Moderately low 32.4% 5.8% (139)
Very low 16.5% 5.3% (133)
50 45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0
0 5 10 15 20 25
Degrees:
Ph.D. 31.0% 6.7% (465)
Ll.B., other doctorate 41.4% 8.6% (58)
M.A., M.S. 20.3% 2.0% (256)
B.A. or less 17.1% 2.9% (35)
45 40 35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0
0 5 10 15
Rank:
Professor 28.9% 5.7% (370)
Associate Professor 20.3% 4.3% (138)
Assistant Professor 23.3% 4.5% (176)
Instructor 26.8% 4.1% (123)
35 30 25 20 15 10 5 0
0 5 10 15

Figure 5. ACADEMIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS:
TENURE AND SENIORITY

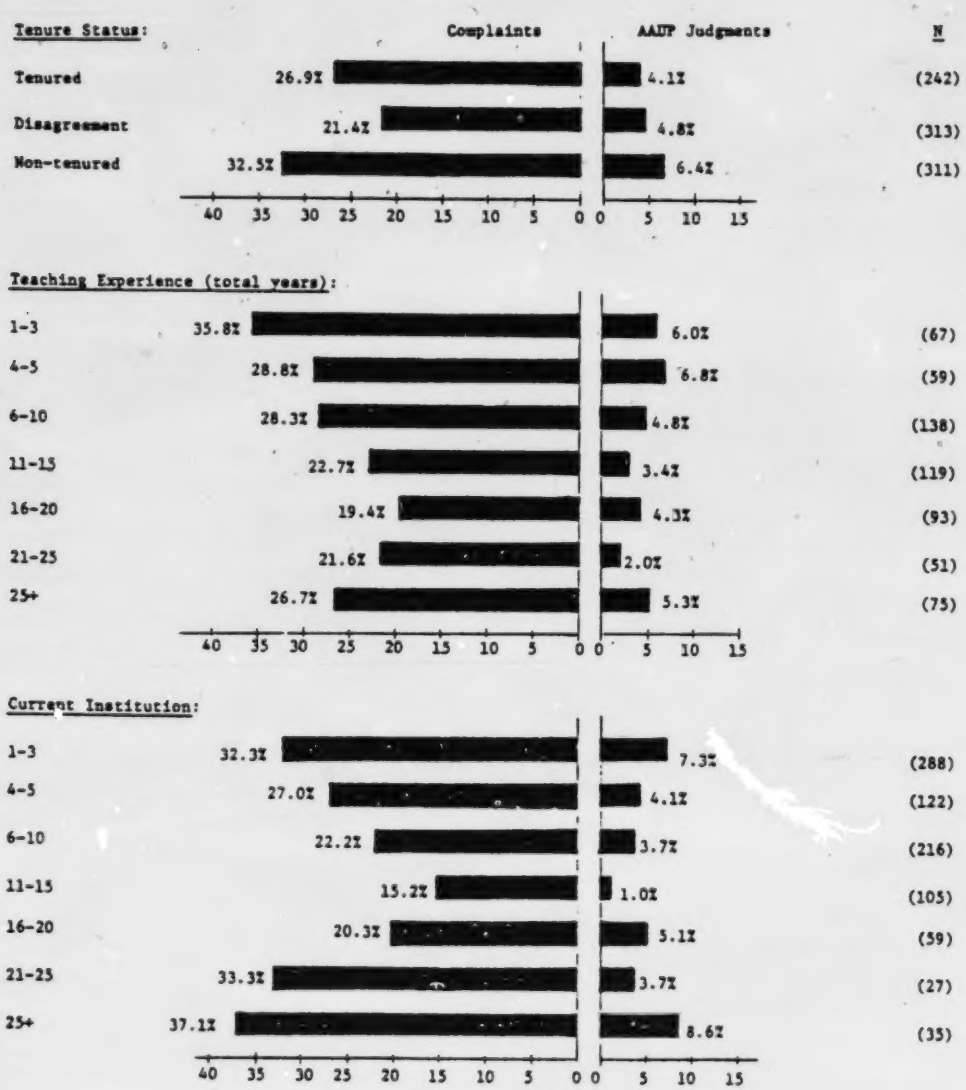

Figure 6. ACADEMIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS: OTHER PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

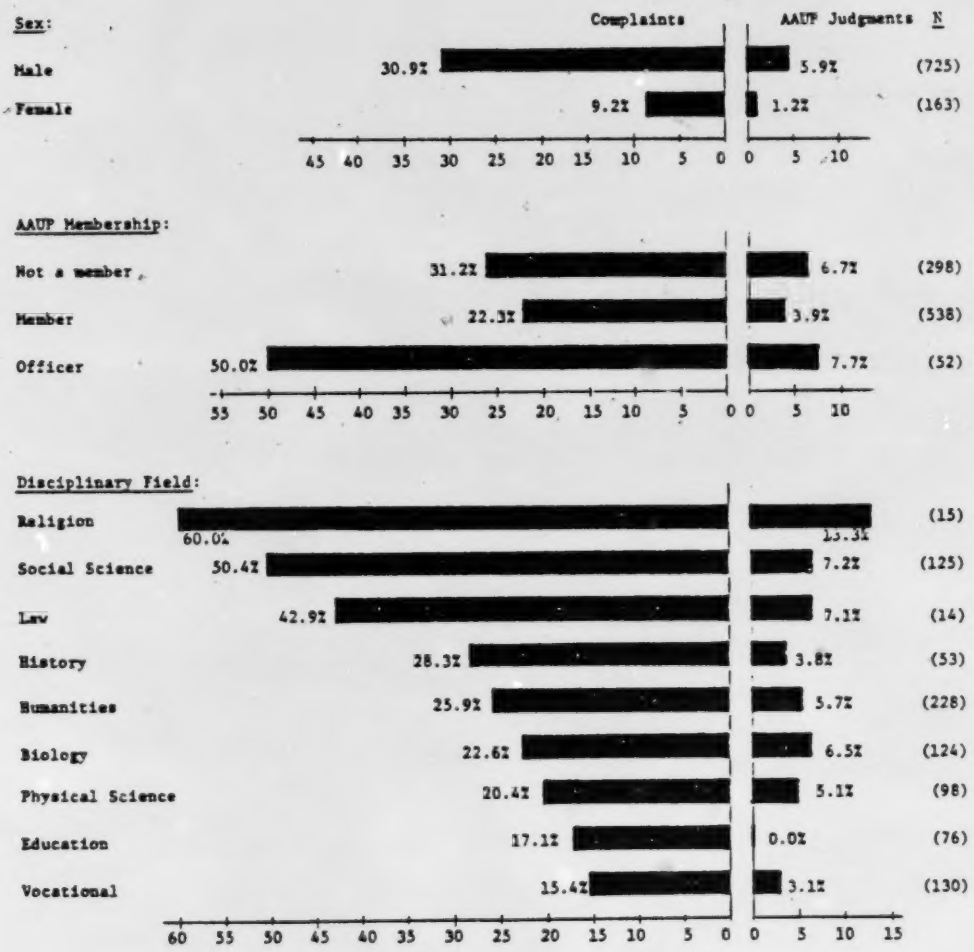

Figure 7. ACADEMIC FREEDOM VIOLATIONS:
CASE EVENTS